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The KGB's Magical War for "Peace"

BY JOHN BARRON

It has spread like a raging fever throughout the world. From Bonn to Istanbul, Lima to New York, millions upon millions of people have joined in the nuclear-freeze movement. It is a movement largely made up of patriotic, sensible people who earnestly believe that they are doing what they must to prevent nuclear war. But it is also a movement that has been penetrated, manipulated and distorted to an amazing degree by people who have but one aim—to promote communist tyranny by weakening the United States. Here, in an exclusive report, Reader's Digest Senior Editor John Barron, author of the best-seller "KGB: The Secret Work of Soviet Secret Agents," authenticates in detail how the Kremlin, through secrecy, forgery, terrorism and fear, has played upon mankind's longing for peace to further its own strategic objectives.

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IN THE OLD LUBYANKA PRISON on Dzerzhinsky Square in Moscow, the screams of the tortured and the pleas of the doomed are heard no more. Drunken executioners no longer ram pistols into backs of heads and blow out the faces of "enemies of the people." No longer must cleaning crews come every few hours to wash blood from the stone walls, swab gore off the oak floors and cart away former comrades' remains.

Today the Communist Party torturers and executioners perform their duties elsewhere, and Lubyanka, whose name still kindles fear in Russians, has undergone a reincarnation. Unknown to the general public, its cells, torture chambers and execution cellars have been remodeled into offices and made part of the "Center"—the headquarters of the Committee for State Security, or KGB.

Sitting in a mahogany-paneled office on the third floor of Lubyanka is the new KGB chairman, Vitaly Fedorchuk. He must still concern himself, first of all, with the continuing subjugation of the Soviet people on behalf of the Party. He and his deputies must still supervise some 5000 KGB officers abroad who daily endeavor to steal the scientific, military and state secrets of other nations. But today, as never before, the KGB leadership is preoccupied with prosecution of what the Russians call Active Measures.

As a result of a disastrous KGB loss, the West has gained encyclopedic, inside knowledge of how the Soviet Union conceives and conducts Active Measures. In late 1979 Maj. Stanislav Aleksandrovich Levchenko escaped from Japan to the United States, and he turned out to be one of the most important officers ever to flee the KGB. Levchenko had worked at the Center as well as in front organizations in Moscow. At the time of his escape he was Active Measures Officer at the KGB's Tokyo Residency. From his unique background, he disclosed strategy, tactics and myriad examples of Active Measures, while unmasking Soviet fronts and key KGB operatives.

"Few people who understand the reality of the Soviet Union will knowingly support it or its policies," Levchenko states. "So by Active Measures, the KGB distorts or inverts reality. The trick is to make people support Soviet policy unwittingly by convincing them they are supporting something else. Almost everybody wants peace and fears war. Therefore, by every conceivable means, the KGB plans and coordinates campaigns to persuade the public that whatever America does endangers peace and that whatever the Soviet Union proposes furthers peace. To be for America is to be for war; to be for the Soviets is to be for peace. That's the art of Active Measures, a sort of made-in-Moscow black magic. It is tragic to see how well it works."

Today, the KGB is concentrating on one of the largest Active Meas-

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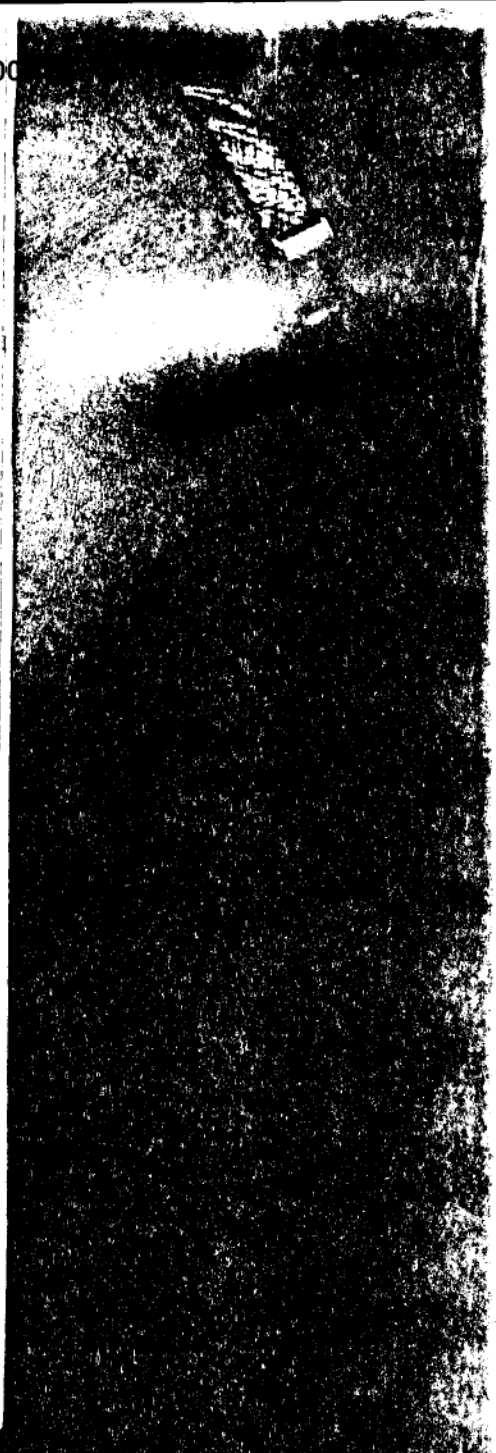

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ures campaigns mounted since World War II. Its objective is to secure military superiority for the Soviet Union by persuading the United States to abandon new weapons systems that both American political parties and numerous strategists judge essential to Western military security. The name of the campaign is "nuclear freeze."

This worldwide campaign thus far has been remarkably successful, for the KGB has induced millions upon millions of honorable, patriotic and sensible people who detest communist tyranny to make common cause with the Soviet Union. Most of these millions earnestly believe they are doing what they must to spare mankind the calamity of nuclear war. In appealing to their admirable motivations, the Soviet Active Measures apparatus follows a strategy not unlike that of cigarette advertisers. Tobacco companies do not ask people to consider thoughtfully the fundamental issue of whether the pleasures of cigarette addiction offset indisputable perils to health. Rather, by simple slogans and alluring illustrations, they evade the issue. Similarly, Active Measures, by holding out the allure of peace through simple slogans and simplistic proposals, try to evade the fundamental and extremely complex issue of arms limitation. And, as Levchenko suggests, they try to persuade everybody that the way to peace lies down the path the Russians are pointing to.

Fabrications and Fronts

IN THE SOVIET LEXICON, Active Measures include both overt and covert propaganda, manipulation of international front organizations, forgeries, fabrications and deceptions, acts of sabotage or terrorism committed for psychological effect, and the use of Agents of Influence.*

The KGB has concocted more than 150 forgeries of official U.S. documents and correspondence portraying American leaders as treacherous and the United States as an unreliable, warmongering nation. One of the most damaging was a fabrication titled *U.S. Army Field Manual FM30–31B* and classified, by the KGB, top secret. Field manuals *FM30–31* and *FM30–31A* did exist; *FM30–31B* was entirely a Soviet creation. Over the forged signature of Gen. William Westmoreland, the manual detailed procedures to be followed by U.S. military personnel in friendly foreign countries. These fictitious instructions told U.S. military forces or advisers how to interfere in internal political affairs and, in certain circumstances, how to incite ultra-leftist groups to violence so as to provoke the host govern-

*The classic Soviet espionage agent steals secrets. An Agent of Influence strives to affect the public opinion and policies of other nations in the interests of the Soviet Union. His or her advocacy may be open or concealed, direct or subtle. Always, though, the Agent of Influence pretends that he or she is acting out of personal conviction rather than under Soviet guidance.

ment into militant anti-communist actions.

The KGB forgery proved invaluable after terrorists from the radical leftist Red Brigades murdered Aldo Moro, president of the Italian Christian Democratic Party, in March 1978. Although Moro's murder constituted a grievous loss to the United States, Radio Moscow began broadcasting charges that he had been assassinated by the CIA. Initially, few people paid any attention to the totally undocumented allegation. Then, according to Congressional testimony, Cuban intelligence officer Luis Gonzalez Verdecia offered a Spanish newspaper the forged Army manual along with an analysis by Fernando Gonzalez, a Spanish communist who dealt with the KGB. In his article Gonzalez cited the manual to support claims that the United States was involved with various Western European terrorist groups, including the Red Brigades.

The leftist Spanish magazine *El Triunfo* published both Gonzalez's article and parts of the forgery on September 23, 1978. Immediately, Italian and other European newspapers replayed the Spanish story. Soviet propagandists now set up a new hue and cry, citing the articles in the non-communist European press as "evidence" that the CIA had assassinated Moro and that the United States was the actual sponsor of left-wing terrorists all around the world.

Soon, the press in 20 countries published the allegations against the CIA along with the forged manual or excerpts from it. In the minds of millions, the KGB had succeeded in inverting reality.

In all nations the KGB attempts to recruit agents—within the political system, press, religion, labor, the academic world—who can help shape public attitudes and policies to Soviet interests. Pierre-Charles Pathé, a French journalist, was an archetypical Agent of Influence until his arrest in 1979. KGB officers, working in Paris under diplomatic cover, regularly supplied him with data that he transformed into articles or passed along to other journalists as his own research and thought. For nearly 20 years Pathé initiated more than 100 articles on Latin America, China, NATO, the CIA and other topics, all in tune with KGB goals. With KGB funds, he published a newsletter read by leaders in government and industry. A French court judged Pathé's actions so potentially damaging to France's military, political and essential economic interests that it sentenced him to five years' imprisonment.

The Soviets also discreetly encourage terrorism as a form of Active Measures. At a school where KGB personnel formerly trained, near the village of Balashikha, east of Moscow, officers of Department V, responsible for sabotage and assassination, bring in contingents of 100 or so young people each year from the Middle East, Africa and Latin America to be taught terrorism. The majority of trainees re-

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turn to their homelands without specific missions, the KGB calculating that the Soviet Union benefits from any mayhem committed in the Third World. But a few are recruited to be KGB agents within the terrorist movements back home. And the best and most ideologically reliable are recruited to serve the KGB independently.

Romesh Chandra

Beyond these types of Active Measures for which it is exclusively responsible, the KGB assists the International Department of the Central Committee in maintaining an interlocking web of front organizations. While all are controlled from Moscow, they are not popularly perceived as subversive. The most important fronts in the current "peace" campaign are the World Peace Council (WPC) and the Institute for the U.S.A. and Canada.

Façade of Peace

THE WORLD PEACE COUNCIL emerged in Paris in 1950 to foment "Ban the Bomb" propaganda at a time when the Soviets had not succeeded in arming themselves with nuclear weapons. Expelled from France for subversion in 1951, the WPC took refuge in Prague until 1954, when it moved to Vienna. The Austrians also evicted the group because of subversive activities in 1957, but the WPC retained a European outpost in Vienna through a branch titled the International Institute for Peace. In 1968 the WPC established headquarters in Helsinki to orchestrate the global propaganda campaign to compel withdrawal of American forces from Vietnam.

The president of the council is Indian communist Romesh Chandra, who long has been a controlled and witting Soviet agent. Intelligent, vain and arrogant, Chandra is almost embarrassing in his slavish adherence to Soviet dictates and his paeans to all things Soviet. "The Soviet Union invariably supports the peace movement," Chandra said a few years ago. "The World Peace Council in its turn positively reacts to all Soviet initiatives in international affairs."

Nevertheless, the Russians supervise Chandra closely by assigning both International Department and KGB representatives to the permanent secretariat of the WPC in Helsinki. The public record amply demonstrates the totality of Soviet control. In its 32 years of existence, the WPC has not deviated from the Kremlin's line of the moment. It did not raise its voice against Soviet suppression of Polish and East Ger-

man workers in 1953, Soviet slaughter of Hungarians in 1956, Soviet abrogation of the nuclear-test moratorium in 1961, the clandestine emplacement of nuclear missiles in Cuba in 1962, the invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968, the projection of Soviet military power in Angola, Ethiopia and Yemen. The WPC has failed to criticize a single Soviet armament program; only those of the West. And it endorsed the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan.

WPC finances further reflect Soviet control. Huge sums are necessary to maintain the offices and staff in Helsinki, Vienna and, since 1977, Geneva; to pay for continual global travel by WPC officials; to publish and distribute around the world monthly periodicals in English, French, German and Spanish; to finance international assemblies for which hundreds of delegates are provided transportation, food and lodging. Yet the World Peace Council has no visible means of support. Virtually all its money comes clandestinely from the Soviet Union.

Even so, many people, including diplomats, politicians, scientists and journalists, choose not to see the WPC for what it is. The United Nations officially recognizes the WPC as a "non-governmental organization" and joins it in discussions of issues such as disarmament and colonialism. The national peace committees with which the WPC maintains both open and secret ties in more than 100 nations rarely are stigmatized in the press as puppets of the Politburo.

Given the façade of an earnest institution that unites sincere men and women from all parts of the world in the quest for peace, given the expertise of KGB and International Department specialists in Active Measures and propaganda, given virtually limitless funds, the World Peace Council frequently rallies millions of non-communists to communist causes.

Coordinated Effort

ANOTHER FRONT, the Institute for the U.S.A. and Canada, affords disguised Soviet operatives entrée into much higher levels of American society than does the WPC. Its director, Georgi Arbatov, an intimate of former KGB chairman Yuri Andropov, has in recent years been a regular commuter to the United States, where he hobnobs with prominent politicians and preaches the gospel of disarmament on national television.

Fully a third of the Institute's staff are regular officers of the KGB; one of its deputy directors is Radomir Georgovich Bogdanov, a senior KGB colonel, who has been subverting foreigners for a quarter century. He labored more than a decade to recruit English-speaking leaders in India and did so well that the KGB promoted him to Resident in New Delhi. As such, he helped [illegible] Gandhi into an Agent of Influence in the 1960s and

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has worked with him intermittently ever since.

In the mid-1970s the KGB assigned Bogdanov to the Institute and to American targets. His pose as a scholar and disarmament specialist questing for peace and understanding earns him access to U.S. politicians and academicians who genuinely do desire peace and understanding. Bogdanov has turned up at disarmament conferences—in Washington, New York and Europe—peddling the Soviet line and hunting for Americans who can be seduced into following it.

Radomir Bogdanov

The KGB also assists the International Department in sustaining foreign communist parties. Many of the parties survive only through secret Soviet subsidies, often delivered by the KGB. The Russians, for example, long have smuggled between $1 million and $2 million annually to the Communist Party U.S.A.

The U.S.S.R. spends millions on the foreign parties because, even if bedraggled and numerically small, they still contribute significantly to Active Measures. Their members can be counted upon to circulate pamphlets and promulgate Soviet themes that subsequently creep into respectable discourse. Members elected to Congress or parliaments can insert these themes into the reportage of the non-communist press by echoing them in official debates. The parties constitute a ready reservoir of disciplined demonstrators who can take to the streets simultaneously in cities throughout the world to foster an illusion of spontaneous concern. They provide the indefatigable cadre of planners, organizers and agitators who help stage mass demonstrations that attract non-communists.

The vast Soviet Active Measures apparatus—the overt propaganda organs, foreign communist parties, international fronts, KGB Residencies around the world, the factories of forgery and disinformation, the Agents of Influence—is well coordinated and disciplined and can respond to commands rapidly and flexibly. When the KGB or International Department senses opportunity, a detailed operational plan is submitted to the Politburo. Once the Politburo approves, everybody from Brezhnev on down pitches in. The basic themes and subthemes of the campaign then are massively and thunderously propagated, like some primitive chant, to drown out reasoned debate or dissent.

Neutron Bomb, Moscow Bombast

THE SOVIETS' current peace campaign began five years ago in

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reaction to the enhanced-radiation warhead (ERW), which soon was mislabeled the neutron bomb. The ERW was born of the most realistic considerations. By 1976 the Soviet Union and its satellites had deployed some 20,000 battle tanks against West Germany.

NATO, with only some 7000 tanks and numerically inferior ground forces, could be sure of repelling an onslaught by Soviet armor only through the use of tactical nuclear weapons. However, the smallest of the nuclear weapons then stored in Europe had a destructive force roughly equivalent to that of the bomb dropped on Hiroshima. The blast and heat from such a weapon would wipe out not only Soviet invaders but everybody and everything within a four-mile radius of the detonation point. Radiation would kill men, women and children within an even wider area.

Through their hydra-headed propaganda apparatus, the Russians were able to say, and in effect continue to say, to the West Germans: If there is war, that is, if we attack you, the Americans will lay waste to your country and people. Since defense is impossible without annihilation, you should quit NATO, cease being pawns of the Americans and come to peaceful and profitable terms with us.

The Russians' most imminent objective in arraying armor on W[illegible] ligate numbers was to reinforce this argument; not to attack, but to intimidate and fragment by threat.

The United States developed the ERW solely to neutralize this threat. Fired from a howitzer or short-range missile, the ERW obliterates everything within a radius of about 120 yards, inflicting no physical damage beyond. It releases neutrons, which flash through the thickest armor with the ease of light passing through a window. The neutrons instantly kill tank crews, soldiers and anybody else in a radius of 500 yards, and cause death within hours or days to all inside a radius of one mile. The radiation effects dissipate quickly, though, and the area affected may safely be entered only hours later.

After technological breakthroughs in the mid-1970s made production of an ERW feasible, military strategists advanced the following arguments: The ERW would render the 20,000 communist tanks menacing NATO by and large useless, militarily and politically. The ERW could wipe out the crews of entire communist armored divisions, while causing minimal civilian casualties and physical devastation. In other words, NATO could defend Western Europe without destroying much of the area and its population.

Accordingly, President Gerald Ford in April 1976 approved the enhanced-radiation warhead. But in June 1977 President Jimmy Carter announced that he would delay

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a final decision until November.

Now the Russians had time and opportunity to initiate a worldwide campaign to pressure President Carter to do as they wished. In little more than a month, the Politburo, the International Department of the Central Committee, the KGB, their worldwide web of agents and front groups, and the Soviet press were ready. They began July 9, 1977, with a cry from TASS aimed at Carter himself: "How can one pose as a champion of human rights and at the same time brandish the neutron bomb, which threatens the lives of millions of people?" The Kremlin then warned the world that the neutron bomb can "only bring the world closer to nuclear holocaust."

Throughout July the Soviet press and radio, in an ever-rising chorus, sounded variations of this refrain: The ghastly new American weapon, the neutron bomb, threatens mankind with nuclear extinction. To be for the neutron bomb is to be for war. To oppose the neutron bomb is to be for peace.

Faithfully, the state-controlled media of Eastern Europe and the newspapers of communist parties in Western Europe echoed the bombast emanating from Moscow.

Orchestrated Protest

INITIALLY, the Active Measures against the ERW were mostly overt and the propaganda was traceable to communist sources. But in August the campaign advanced into semi-covert and clandestine phases. The World Peace Council proclaimed August 6–13, 1977, a Week of Action, and its front groups, abetted by the KGB and local communist parties, promoted public demonstrations whose Soviet sponsorship was less perceptible. That week crowds, pleading in the name of humanity against the "killer neutron bomb," demonstrated before U.S. consulates or embassies in Bonn, Stuttgart, Frankfurt and Istanbul. Though subtly directed by Soviet agents, the demonstrators—in Germany and the Netherlands at least—were mostly non-communists attracted by intensive advertising, and motivated by a variety of impulses: anti-Americanism, pacifism, abhorrence of all nuclear weapons and a sincere longing for peace.

Elsewhere, in lands where the ERW never would be used, KGB Residencies did their job by planting disinformation in the local press. One prestigious Latin American newspaper published an anti-neutron-bomb article attributed to the International Institute for Peace in Vienna, which was not identified as the Soviet front that it is. A small communist claque in Lima dispatched a formal protest to the United Nations. A spate of Soviet-inspired articles appeared in India, Pakistan, Mauritius, Ghana, Ethiopia and Libya.

Concurrently, within its own empire, the Soviet Union beat the propaganda drums in a new cre-

scendo. From East Berlin, Reuters on August 8 reported: "Twenty-eight European and North American communist parties today joined in an unusual display of public unity to call on the United States to ban production of the neutron bomb." A sturdy worker in Moscow recalled the suffering of World War II; by coincidence, another man 1500 miles away in Uzbekistan spoke almost exactly the same words.

In October, Secretary of Defense Harold Brown announced President Carter would approve production of the ERW only if NATO allies agreed in advance to its deployment on their territories. Western European leaders recognized the ERW as a much safer, more credible deterrent than the nuclear warheads already on their soil, and privately wanted it added to NATO defenses. But by temporizing and publicly shifting the burden of decision to them, Carter exposed Allied leaders as well as himself to intensified pressures.

Accurately assessing Carter as a devoted Baptist, the Russians played upon his deep religious faith. In a dispatch quoted by the American press, TASS reported: "Soviet Baptist leaders today condemned production of the neutron bomb as 'contrary to the teachings of Christ' and urged fellow Baptists in the United States to raise their voices in defense of peace." As President and Mrs. Carter worshiped at the First Baptist Church in Washington on Sunday, October 16, 1977, six outsiders disrupted the service with shouts against the neutron bomb. And on two more occasions, protesters harassed the Carters at church.

In January 1978 Brezhnev sent letters to the heads of all Western governments asserting that the neutron bomb would "pose a grave threat to détente." Western members of parliament received similar letters from members of the Supreme Soviet and Soviet trade-union leaders.

Emboldened by the initial furor the Active Measures campaign had incited, the KGB and International Department moved on the U.S. Congress. American communists, joined by non-communists, formed a National Committee to welcome Romesh Chandra and the World Peace Council presidential bureau to a "Dialogue for Disarmament and Détente" held in Washington from January 25 to 28. U.S. Rep. John Conyers, Jr., heartily greeted the group. "You have joined us to give us courage and inspiration in our fight for disarmament and against the neutron bomb," he said.

The KGB provided the star of this show at the Capitol. Reporting the proceedings, which included a luncheon in the House of Representatives, the communist *Daily World* said: "Every now and then one of the speakers would strike an emotional chord that was both personal and political, a human plea that would reach deeply into the listeners. One such speaker was Radomir

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Bogdanov of the Soviet Academy of Sciences." The *Daily World* neglected to mention that Bogdanov is a KGB officer.

Having given "courage and inspiration" to U.S. Congressmen, agent Chandra and Colonel Bogdanov proceeded to New York where the WPC group had "long and fruitful discussions" with U.N. Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim.

In late February, 126 representatives of peace groups from 50 nations gathered in Geneva to denounce the neutron bomb. They attracted attention from an uncritical press that did not ask who was paying for this extravaganza allegedly sponsored by a heretofore unknown outfit calling itself the Special Nongovernmental Organizations Committee on Disarmament. The actual organizers and sponsors were the World Peace Council, its Swiss allies and Eastern European "diplomats" accredited to the United Nations in Geneva. The presiding officer was the ubiquitous agent Chandra.

On March 19, in a rally organized primarily by the Dutch Communist Party, some 40,000 demonstrators, drawn from throughout Europe at considerable expense to the rally's sponsors, marched through Amsterdam inveighing against the horrors of the neutron bomb and the nuclear holocaust it surely would precipitate. The protest, part of the International Forum Against the Neutron Bomb, doubtless constituted evi-

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dence to many that the neutron bomb must be very bad indeed.

American Retreat

DESPITE THE ILLUSION of a worldwide tide of sentiment welling up against the ERW, President Carter's three principal foreign-policy advisers—Secretary of State Cyrus Vance, Secretary of Defense Harold Brown and National Security Adviser Zbigniew Brzezinski—all urged production. So did the Washington *Post* and the New York *Times*. Declared the *Times*: "Ever since the Carter Administration asked Congress last summer for funds to produce enhanced-radiation nuclear warheads, critics ranging from Soviet propagandists to Western cartoonists have had a field day attacking the so-called 'neutron bomb.' The archetypical capitalist weapon, Moscow has called it, a destroyer of people but not property. Grim forecasts of lingering radiation deaths have filled newspaper columns worldwide. Rarely have the relevant questions been asked: Is the neutron weapon really more terrible than other nuclear weapons? And more important, would its deployment make nuclear war more likely?

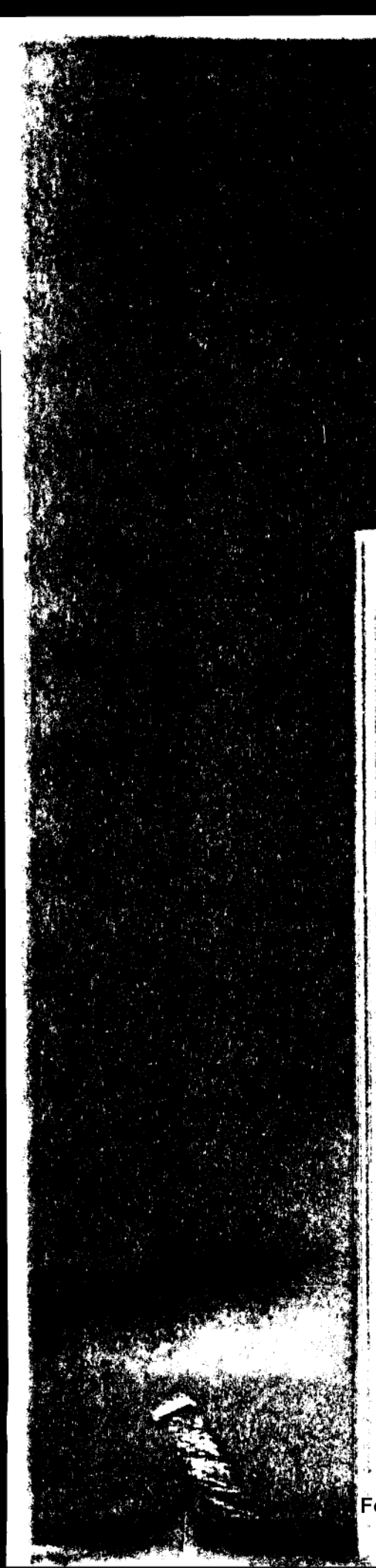
"The answer to both these questions is almost certainly 'No.'. . . Neutron weapons in Western hands would significantly complicate Soviet tactical planning: If its tanks were to attack in mass, they would be highly vulnerable. If they were to disperse, they would be easier targets for conventional precision-guided anti-tank weapons. . . ."

Such logic was unavailing. On April 7, 1978, President Carter announced the ERW's cancellation. The communists gloated. "The political campaign against the neutron bomb was one of the most significant and successful since World War II," boasted Janos Berecz, chief of the Hungarian Communist Party's International Department. And Leonid Brezhnev himself decorated Soviet Ambassador Aleksandr Yosipovich Romanov for his services in inciting the Dutch demonstrations.

In unilaterally abandoning plans to produce the enhanced-radiation warhead, the United States secured no reciprocal or compensatory concessions from the Soviet Union. Abandonment gained no good will from those people endemically hostile to the plan or those convinced that it had pushed the world to the precipice of nuclear war by developing a ghastly new weapon.

By arming NATO with the enhanced-radiation warhead, the United States had intended to demonstrate to friends that it possessed the will and capacity to participate effectively in their defense. By vacillating, then capitulating before the pressures of Soviet Active Measures, the United States showed itself to be irresolute and, in the eyes of many friends, witless.

The retreat especially frightened Europeans threatened by the Soviets' newest weapon of mass de-



struction, the SS-20 missile. The SS-20 is an accurate, mobile weapon that can be concealed from detection by space satellites and reconnaissance aircraft. In 1977 the Russians had begun deploying the first of 315 of these missiles, each with three nuclear warheads that can be directed at separate targets. Thus the Soviet Union now had an intimidating new force, which within 15 minutes from launch could obliterate 945 European targets—including every sizable city from Oslo to Lisbon, from Glasgow to Istanbul.

At the insistence of the Western Europeans and particularly West German Chancellor Schmidt, the Carter Administration finally agreed to emplace, under joint U.S.-NATO control, 572 Pershing II and cruise missiles as a counterpoise to the SS-20s. Unlike the old missiles they would replace, the intermediate-range Pershing II and cruise missiles could reach Moscow and other cities in the western Soviet Union. Both are mobile, can be hidden and could probably survive a surprise attack. Unlike the SS-20, the new American missiles would be armed only with a single warhead.

NATO strategists reasoned that the 572 warheads would suffice to void the threat of the SS-20 by convincing the Russians that attack upon Western Europe automatically would bring a catastrophic counterattack. The balance of nuclear terror, which has kept peace in Europe for more than three decades, would be restored; neither side could credibly threaten the other with nuclear assault. NATO ministers in December 1979 overwhelmingly approved deployment of the modern missiles, and the United States promised to put them in place by late 1983.

Throughout the 1980 Presidential campaign, candidate Ronald Reagan declared that, if elected, he would restore American military power to the degree necessary to deter Soviet intimidation or attack. A few days after Reagan won, the Soviet Union instigated the great new Active Measures campaign to prevent NATO from countering the SS-20s and to reverse the American election results by nullifying the rearmament program implicitly mandated by the voters. After the success of the anti-neutron-bomb campaign, their expectations were high.

Nuclear Freeze

ON FEBRUARY 23, 1981, Leonid Brezhnev, addressing the 26th Communist Party Congress, issued an official call for a nuclear freeze—an immediate cessation of development of any new weapons system.

Such a moratorium would achieve the fundamental Soviet objective of aborting American production and deployment of the enhanced-radiation warhead (re-initiated by Reagan), the mobile MX, Pershing II and cruise missiles and a new manned bomber, the B-1. It would

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leave Western Europe vulnerable to the relentlessly expanding communist forces—now including an astonishing 42,500 tanks and 315 deadly SS-20 missiles. It would leave the United States with a fleet of old, obsolete strategic bombers unlikely to penetrate Soviet air defenses and with an aging force of fixed land-based missiles vulnerable to a first strike by gigantic new Soviet missiles.

Instantly the KGB, the International Department and the immense Active Measures apparatus heeded Brezhnev's call. With the World Peace Council, its foreign affiliates and local communist parties again the principal organizers, a new series of mass demonstrations occurred in Europe. An estimated 250,000 people marched in Bonn, protesting against any new missiles or nuclear weapons. Soviet fronts helped assemble a throng estimated at 350,000 in Amsterdam, a reported 400,000 in Madrid and 200,000 in Athens.

The KGB all along played its traditional part. Dutch authorities in April 1981 expelled KGB officer Vadim Leonov who, in the guise of a TASS correspondent, associated closely with leaders of the Dutch peace movement. Leonov made a number of professional mistakes, including a drunken boast to a Dutch counterintelligence source. "If Moscow decides that 50,000 demonstrators must take to the streets in the Netherlands, then they take to the streets. Do you

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know how you can get 50,000 demonstrators at a certain place within a week? A message through my channels is sufficient," Leonov bragged. In November Norway expelled KGB officer Stanislav Chebotek for offering bribes to those Norwegians who would write letters to newspapers denouncing NATO and the proposed missiles for Europe.

In January 1982 Portugal ousted two KGB officers, Yuri Babaints and Mikhail Morozov, for attempting to incite riots against NATO. That same month the Portuguese also denied visas to Soviet Peace Committee representatives who wanted to join a communist-sponsored demonstration against NATO and the missiles on grounds that they were Soviet subversives. The Portuguese Socialist Party boycotted the Lisbon march, deriding it as a "reflection of the diplomatic and military logic of the Soviet bloc."

However, the march of about 50,000 people proceeded—with U.S. Congressman Gus Savage as one of its leaders. In a newsletter to constituents, Savage boasted of his participation in activities of the World Peace Council, which he described as "the largest non-governmental peace organization in the world."

All the while the KGB was manufacturing a spate of forged documents intended to buttress the theme that American rather than Soviet nuclear weapons most imperil Western Europe. It succeeded

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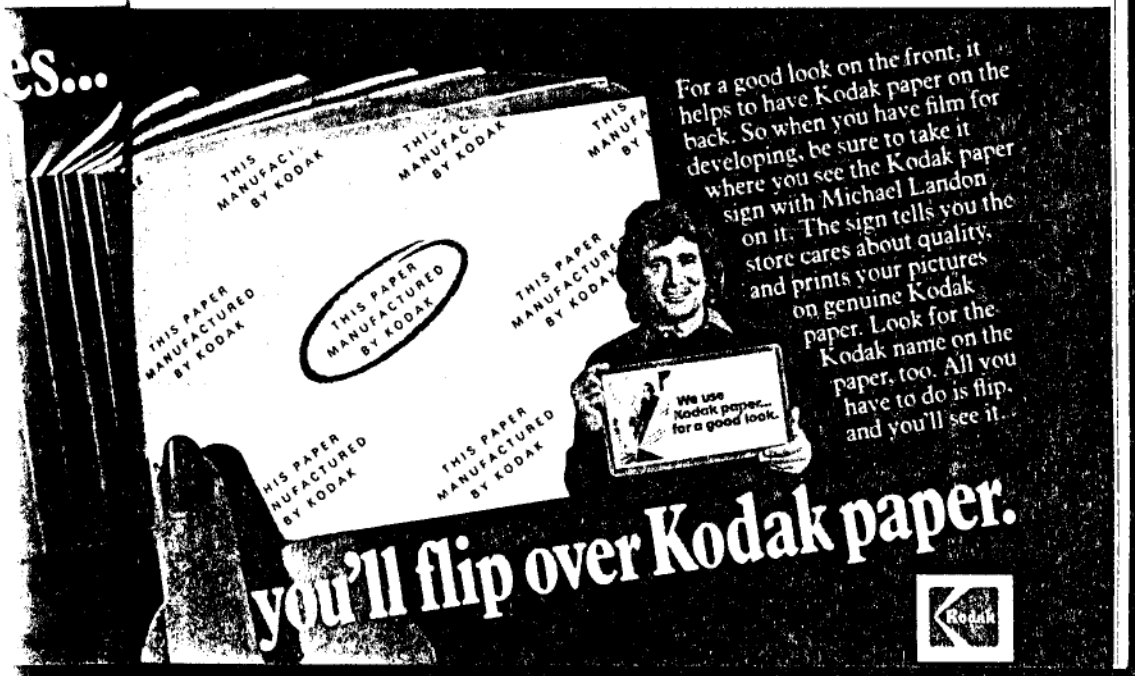
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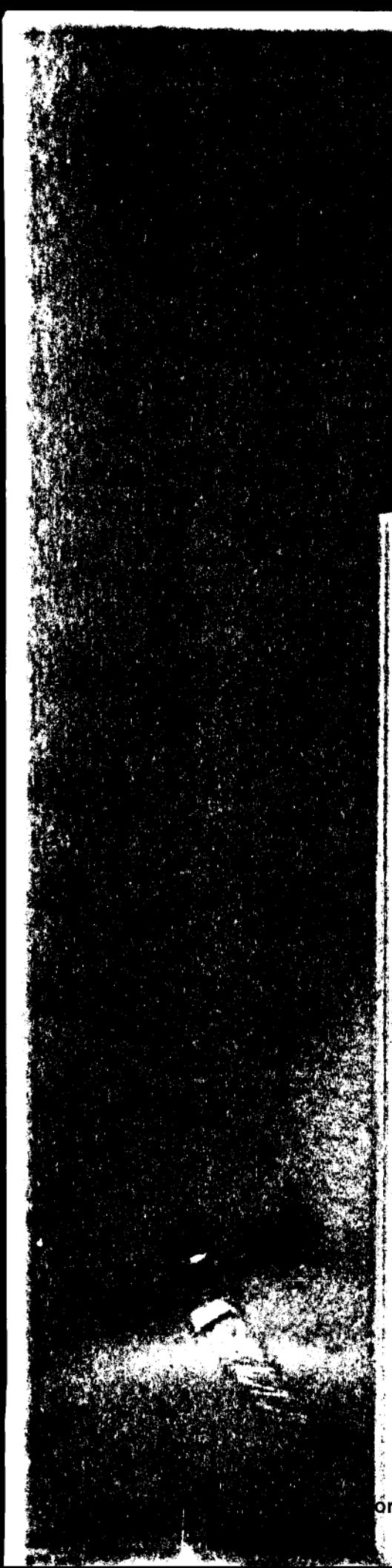

in circulating in Great Britain, the Netherlands, Norway, Belgium, Malta, Greece and France a pamphlet entitled "Top Secret Documents . . . on U.S. Forces Headquarters in Europe . . . Holocaust Again for Europe." The contents consisted of alterations and fabrications based upon authentic military-contingency plans stolen by a KGB agent, Sgt. Robert Lee Johnson, from the Armed Forces Courier Center vault at Orly Field in 1962. The fabrications purported to show that the United States planned to blow up much of Europe with nuclear weapons to save itself.

Reproducing a standard, unclassified U.S. government map of Austria, the KGB labeled it top secret and marked targets on it. Both the Austrian communist newspaper *Volksstimme* and *Komsomolskaya Pravda* in Moscow published stories alleging that the map proved the United States planned to destroy Austrian cities and installations with nuclear bombs.

In Denmark, writer Arne Herløv Petersen, a KGB agent since 1970, helped organize a propaganda drive advocating a Nordic Nuclear Weapon Free Zone, i.e., stripping the northern flank of NATO of all nuclear defenses. As part of this effort, he composed an advertisement signed by 150 Danish artists and intellectuals and bought newspaper space with KGB money. In the summer of 1981 Petersen sponsored a peace march from Oslo to Paris, and he also published under his own name propaganda tracts written by the KGB.

Danish counterintelligence officers witnessed 23 clandestine meetings between Petersen and Maj. Vladimir Dmitriyevich Merkulov, Active Measures officer at the KGB Residency in Copenhagen. Finally, in October 1981, they arrested Petersen as a Soviet agent. Merkulov, who had been active in the Danish Cooperation Committee for Peace and Security, a communist-dominated subsidiary of the World Peace Council, was expelled.

The U.S. Movement

WHILE the Soviet-inspired demonstrations against NATO and the new missiles raged across Europe, protests in America initially were scant and inconsequential. But on March 20, 1981, less than one month after Brezhnev called for a nuclear freeze, the first national strategy conference of the American Nuclear Freeze Campaign convened for three days in a meeting hall at Georgetown University in Washington. The topics of the skills-sharing workshops suggest just how farsighted and well considered the planning was. Working sessions were conducted to teach activists about: "Congressional District/Petitions Approach; Referendum/State Legislator Approach; Organizing Around Nuclear Weapon Facilities; How to Approach Middle America—Small Group and One-to-One Techniques; Media; Reaching and Activating National

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Organizations (Including Your Own); Working with the Religious Community; Working with the Medical and Scientific Community; Working with Groups with a Human Needs Agenda."

Virtually the entire blueprint for the nuclear-freeze campaign that followed was drawn in comprehensive detail. Speakers stressed that the beauty of the nuclear freeze derives from its simplicity. It would enable all people sincerely concerned about the danger of nuclear war to answer for themselves the question, "What can I do?"

WIDE WORLD PHOTOS

Yuri Kapralov

According to a "peace" movement newspaper, the organizers at Georgetown comprised "between 275 and 300 predominantly white middle-class people from 33 states, Great Britain and the Soviet Union." Records available today identify only two of the invited Soviet delegates: Georgi Arbatov, danov, an International Department specialist in Active Measures, who flew in from Moscow. The other was Yuri S. Kapralov, who represents himself as a counselor at the Soviet embassy in Washington. Kapralov was not merely an observer. He mingled with disarmament proponents, urging them on in their efforts to abort new American weapons. He was an official member of the discussion panel, and, as one listener put it, his statements were "very impressive."

But Yuri Kapralov did not speak just for himself. Kapralov is a KGB officer who, ever since arriving in the United States in 1978, has dedicated himself to penetrating the peace movement. Thus, little more than two miles from the White House, the KGB helped organize and inaugurate the American "nuclear freeze" campaign. While many civic and church groups of unassailable repute were to join in advocating the "freeze," in terms of the strategy and organization of the drive, this little-noted conference at Georgetown was a seminal meeting.

KGB officer Kapralov subsequently showed up at other American forums advocating peace and disarmament. According to press accounts he received some of the loudest applause given speakers by about 800 Harvard students and faculty members, and the Boston *Globe* termed him "one of the most effective speakers." Blaming the [illegible] on the United States, Kapralov said, "It's funny that

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Deterrence vs. the Freeze

EVERYONE IS FOR THE FREEZE. And no wonder. As the Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign, the St. Louis-based "clearinghouse" for the grass-roots anti-nuke crusade, puts it on its letterhead: "The freeze: because nobody wants a nuclear war." The power of that slogan lies in its simplicity and its implication that only those who want nuclear war could oppose a freeze. Consequently, the question is no longer: "Are you for a freeze?" but "What kind of freeze are you for?" Freezes now come in many varieties. The differences, though subtle, are crucial.

One proposal is from the grass-roots campaign. Its objective is a total ceasefire-in-place in the nuclear arms race. This proposal has been adopted by scores of town meetings, Catholic bishops, the YMCA and so on.

As an expression of general concern, the halt-in-place freeze is laudable. But as a practical proposal, it is a disaster. First, production of nuclear weapons is exceedingly difficult to verify without on-site inspection, and the U.S.S.R. has consistently reiterated its opposition to such inspections.

Second, a global halt-in-place effectively cancels the Reagan Administration's bold stroke in arms control on intermediate-range nuclear weapons in Europe. Last November the President offered to cancel planned American deployment of Pershing II and ground-launched cruise missiles if the Soviets agreed to dismantle their SS-20s, 315 accurate and mobile nuclear missiles based in Eastern Europe and aimed at West European cities. Leonid Brezhnev's counteroffer is also a "freeze": keep things as they are in Europe, with the Soviets allowed 315 intermediate-range missiles on the ground and the United States zero. We are now engaged in negotiations at Geneva to resolve the issue. If the halt-in-place idea were to prevail in Washington, however, we wouldn't need negotiations in Geneva. The issue would be settled with a Soviet victory.

Collapse of the U.S. position at Geneva would also cause disarray in the NATO alliance. Helmut Schmidt and other European leaders have gone out on a limb to support the U.S. position on intermediate nuclear weapons. If that limb is sawed off by the U.S. freeze movement, just as it was in the neutron-bomb affair by Carter, they could be forgiven if they never again risked their political futures on U.S. promises.

But there exists an even more fundamental problem with the halt-in-place proposal. It ignores deterrence, which has proved the only guarantor of peace in the nuclear age. The proposal is based on the simple notion that as long as each

when our leaders talk very clearly about their desire for peace, some of your people just discredit it as propaganda. We would prefer that your leaders would talk as clearly and as forcefully for peace and arms control as ours." More applause.

When Brezhnev called for a nuclear freeze, he adjured scientists

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side has enough megatonnage to destroy the other, everything else is useless overkill. It assumes that as long as we have the capacity to knock out Soviet cities, we have deterrence. But deterrence requires the capacity to destroy the other side *after a first strike.*

In a crisis, nuclear war will not start because one side has, say, ten times overkill capacity as opposed to five. Nuclear war becomes more probable when the threat of retaliation becomes less credible. If one side begins to lose its capacity to deliver a second strike, the other side might be tempted in a crisis to strike first. Even more dangerous is the temptation on the side with the diminished retaliatory capacity to launch a pre-emptive first strike before it is too late. Thus, those concerned with decreasing the chances of nuclear war should focus less on absolute numbers than on survivability of our strategic deterrent.

The halt-in-place is a threat to stability because it will ultimately jeopardize the survivability of America's retaliatory capacity. The Soviets will soon have a credible capacity for a first strike against one portion of the U.S. deterrent, the land-based intercontinental ballistic missiles. That will leave the United States dependent on the two remaining legs of the triad: the bomber force and submarines. The bomber force of old B-52s is rapidly losing its capacity to penetrate Soviet airspace. The freeze would prevent us from modernizing the bomber force with new planes (like the B-1 or the Stealth) and cruise missiles. So America's deterrent capability basically would be in one basket—submarines. Our subs are now the most survivable leg of our strategic triad, but the freeze would prevent attempts to assure their long-term invulnerability. At the same time it would do nothing to prevent non-nuclear anti-submarine research.

The aim of arms negotiations is to decrease the chances of nuclear war. And the way to decrease those chances is to ensure deterrence. The freeze would jeopardize deterrence. We recognize that the concept of deterrence is less satisfying emotionally, and more difficult intellectually, than the freeze. It also makes for duller copy than dramatic prophesies of the coming apocalypse. But preventing nuclear war requires more than fear. It requires a conscious strategy, the political will to carry it out and a sense of public duty to explain to the voters the unpleasant, complex world of deterrence. Unfortunately, many political leaders see the peace train leaving the station and they must run to keep up with their followers. But our survival is at stake. Citizens and Congressmen will simply have to cool their emotions and think.

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to join in warning the public of the horrors of nuclear war. On March 20, the same day the Nuclear Freeze Campaign strategy conference began at Georgetown University, a new outfit, titled International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War, held its first annual conference. The Soviet delegation to the meeting in Vir-

ginia included Brezhnev's personal physician, Evgenny Chazov. But the head of the delegation was not a physician at all. He was none other than Georgi Arbatov, the International Department operative, one of the masterminds of the Active Measures campaign.

The cold war was entirely the fault of the United States, according to Arbatov. America started it by dropping an atomic bomb on Hiroshima. The Russians have always believed, declared Arbatov, that the first atomic bomb was aimed as much at them as at the Japanese. New weapons will not enhance the security of anyone, Arbatov argued. America should spend its money on the needy, the underfed, the starving; not on arms. According to the Toronto *Star,* the assembly rewarded Arbatov with "thunderous applause."

Following the Georgetown and Virginia conferences, the U.S. Peace Council arranged for a World Peace Council delegation, with Romesh Chandra at the forefront, to tour American cities. The appearance most beneficial to them was on Capitol Hill where, in May, Representatives John Conyers, Jr., Don Edwards, Mervyn Dymally, George Crockett, Jr., Ted Weiss and Mickey Leland invited colleagues to meet and listen to the WPC delegates. Whether or not the delegation's lobbying in behalf of Soviet interests affected any of the Congressmen, the cordial welcome Chandra and his colleagues received at the Capitol lent them a useful measure of respectability as bona-fide seekers of peace.

Continuing organizational efforts orchestrated from Moscow resulted in a series of conferences at which assorted peace and allied special-interest groups planned specific actions. The strategy that emerged envisioned a rising furor of demonstrations, agitation and propaganda against the European missiles and new U.S. weapons and in favor of the nuclear freeze proposed by Brezhnev. Various leaders repeatedly emphasized the necessity of rounding up "newly aroused individuals and constituencies" so, as one put it, "the demonstrations would not appear to be a primarily 'peace movement' event."

Other Goals of "Peace"

THE IDEA of a nuclear freeze was not new in the United States. It had been advanced two years earlier at a convention of the Mobilization for Survival (MFS), composed of three dozen or so organizations, including the U.S. Communist Party, the U.S. Peace Council, and Women Strike for Peace. One energetic leader of the Mobilization for Survival is Terry Provance, a World Peace Council activist who in 1979 participated in the founding meeting of its American branch, the U.S. Peace Council. Provance earlier led the campaign against the B-1

(Continued on page 247)

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bomber and then became coordinator of the disarmament program of the American Friends Service Committee.

When the freeze campaign revived in 1981, MFS sponsored a strategy conference attended by representatives of some 46 peace and disarmament factions and held in Nyack, N.Y., the weekend of October 23 to 25. Provance, who had spoken at a disarmament rally in West Germany earlier in the year, discussed plans for high-profile Europeans active in the disarmament movement to come to the United States in ensuing months to stimulate the American movement. Conference participants were told that the months ahead would be "a key time to organize local public meetings and/or demonstrations," demanding a "suspension of all U.S. plans to deploy Pershing II and cruise missiles."

The action agenda adopted called for support of the nuclear freeze, solidarity with the European peace movement, "creative, dramatic actions" against large corporations, propaganda against both nuclear arms and nuclear power, and attempts to attract more followers by blaming social ills on "the military budget."

Two weeks later agent Chandra flew to New York to confer with American communist leaders and attend a conference of the U.S. Peace Council, which attracted representatives from a mélange of peace, religious and radical organizations. Chandra and Achim Maske of the West German peace movement both implored the Americans to redouble agitation to block the Pershing II and cruise missiles. As a pattern for their lobbying, Chandra commended recent pronouncements of Brezhnev's.

Congressman Savage spoke about how to induct blacks and other minorities into the disarmament drive. Congressman Conyers exhorted the activists to rally behind efforts to transfer funds from the defense budget to welfare programs. The executive director of the U.S. Peace Council, Michael Myerson, a longtime communist functionary, asserted that the U.S. Peace Council had a unique responsibility to fuse the cause of disarmament with that of the Palestine Liberation Organization and guerrillas in El Salvador, Guatemala, Chile and South Africa.

On November 15, 1981, the day the U.S. Peace Council gathering ended, the Riverside Church in New York opened a conference on "The Arms Race and Us." Serving as host and hostess were the Rev. William Sloan Coffin and Cora Weiss, whom he engaged as the Riverside Church disarmament-program director.

During the Vietnam war Weiss was a leader of Women Strike for Peace. A Congressional study characterized Women Strike for Peace as "a pro-Hanoi organization" which from its inception "has enjoyed the complete support of the

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Communist Party." Even while the fighting continued, Weiss traveled to both Hanoi and Paris to consult with the North Vietnamese. Subsequently she became a director of Friendshipment, established to funnel American aid to Vietnam after the communist victory. In 1976, she joined a coalition formed to stage anti-government demonstrations during the bicentennial celebrations. Weiss also has helped sponsor the Center for Cuban Studies, a group to which Fidel Castro personally expressed his appreciation on its tenth anniversary.

About 500 disarmament proponents from around the nation attended the conference Weiss organized. A prominent new performer on the disarmament scene, Australian-born pediatrician Helen Caldicott, did her best to instill fear and loathing. "We are on the brink of extinction," she warned. While Caldicott had no criticism of Soviet weapons, she likened the christening of a U.S. Trident submarine to christening "Auschwitz," to "a gas oven full of Jews burning up."

Caldicott, who now devotes herself fully to running another peace lobby, Physicians for Social Responsibility, did sound one positive note. She had just toured Europe, whipping up support for the freeze. "It was a wonderful feeling to be over there," she said, because "the fear was palpable but realistic." By contrast, she lamented, "the Americans seem to have no panic. Why?"

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Caldicott concluded by quoting an ecclesiastical appeal for unilateral American disarmament.

Surely her words heartened KGB officer Kapralov, who came up from the Washington Residency to participate in the start of the Riverside Church Disarmament Program.

Mobilization for Survival convened its climactic strategy session early last December on the campus of the University of Wisconsin in Milwaukee. Some of the MFS leaders were frank in their statements of tactics, strategy and goals. A staff organizer from Boston, Leslie Cagan, said that current expediency necessitates a coalition that "makes it easier to call out more people to demonstrate." Construction of a coalition with "diversity of composition," she explained, requires "a common enemy as well as a common vision." As useful enemies, Cagan cited President Reagan, "our military-industrial complex, racism and sexism."

Mel King, a Massachusetts state legislator active in both the World Peace Council and the U.S. Peace Council, demanded a more militant spirit. "We've been too damn nice," he declared. "It's time we stopped just getting mad and started getting even."

In workshops, allies of the revolutionary Weather Underground lobbied for terrorism in general, "direct action" and "armed propaganda" against installations involved in production of nuclear power and weapons. Lauded as "genuine people's leaders" were two convicts: Puerto Rican Rafael Cancel Miranda, one of the four terrorists who shot up the House of Representatives, wounding five Congressmen, and American Indian Movement leader Leonard Peltier, who killed two FBI agents from ambush.

The business of the conference included the practical planning of 1982 demonstrations at air bases, missile sites and defense plants; the formation of task forces to write letters to newspapers and importune elected officials in behalf of the nuclear freeze and against major American weapons systems. The Rev. Robert Moore, an MFS national staff member and a leader in the Nuclear Freeze Campaign, together with staff organizer Paul Mayer, stressed the advantages of bringing the campaign to a climax during the U.N. Special Session on Disarmament beginning in June.

Inverted Reality

THE WORLD PEACE COUNCIL in the December 1981 issue of *Peace Courier* happily reported that its U.S. Peace Council was progressing well in collecting signatures on petitions advocating the nuclear freeze, promoting a California referendum on the freeze, and advertising the Jobs for Peace Campaign, another plan to divert money from defense to welfare.

The World Peace Council, its parent, the International Department, the KGB and the Politburo all

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had ample grounds to be pleased. Like the simple slogans of past Soviet Active Measures, nuclear freeze appealed to many Americans who honestly desired to do something about the transcendent issue of war and peace. From the East Coast to the West Coast, town councils and county boards of supervisors paused in their deliberations about zoning, sewage systems and school budgets to pass resolutions favoring the nuclear freeze. Nearly 600,000 Californians petitioned for a referendum to record their state in favor of the freeze. Prominent religious leaders, educators, scientists, artists, entertainers and other public figures endorsed the nuclear freeze. Helen Caldicott's Physicians for Social Responsibility toiled tirelessly to scare people by pointing to the obvious—wherever detonated, a nuclear bomb would wreak horrendous havoc.

On March 10, 1982, Senators Edward Kennedy and Mark Hatfield introduced a resolution demanding an immediate nuclear freeze, and in the House of Representatives, a parallel resolution was introduced. Even if adopted, the resolutions would be binding upon no one. But they did significantly augment the Soviet campaign to prevent the United States from producing the weapons that would ensure a balance of strategic power.

Meanwhile, on orders from the Center at Lubyanka, the KGB Residency in New York concentrated

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much of its manpower upon the freeze campaign. U.S. counterintelligence identified more than 20 Soviet agents endeavoring to influence elements of the peace movement, particularly leaders in religion, labor and science.

Typical of them are KGB officers Sergei Paramonov, Vladimir Shustov and Sergei Divilkovsky, all of whom masquerade as diplomats at the U.N. Paramonov, who participated in the inaugural meeting of the Riverside Church disarmament program, courts wives of clergymen and other women in the peace movement. A charming professional, he entices the naïve with free trips to Moscow, suggesting they can "reduce misunderstandings" between America and Russia. Shustov and Divilkovsky have made numerous visits to Riverside Church. And they have shown up at other churches and meetings of prestigious organizations concerned with peace.

The Soviets supplemented the labors of their New York and Washington residencies by sending people from the Center into the United States on temporary assignments. Even before the freeze movement materialized, a Soviet delegation including KGB officer Andrei Afanasyevich Kokoshin toured the United States, visiting Americans who were to be prominent in the campaign. Another delegation led by Nikolai Mostovets, who heads the North American

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section of the International Department, plotted strategy with the U.S. Peace Council.

Of the Soviets who applied for visas to attend a disarmament conference sponsored by the National Academy of Sciences in Washington in January 1982, roughly half were known intelligence officers. The State Department refused entry to most of them. Nevertheless, of those who came, almost half were co-opted KGB agents or International Department operatives. One of the Soviet "scientists" was Vitaly Zhurkin who, back in the 1960s, when agent Chandra was being groomed in New Delhi, used to give money and orders to the Indian Communist Party.

In anticipation of a massive nuclear-freeze rally on June 12, 1982, emissaries from 13 Soviet international fronts flooded into New York City. They joined more than 700,000 Americans who pa-

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raded and spoke out for peace.

The following week the Soviet Union staged a terrifying rehearsal of a surprise nuclear attack on the United States and Western Europe. In a span of seven hours, they fired land- and sea-based missiles designed to kill American satellites, destroy U.S. retaliatory power, obliterate American cities and wipe out Europe. The firings, over Soviet territory and waters, exactly duplicated wartime distances and trajectories, and produced shock among those monitoring them in Washington. Never before had there been such a realistic and comprehensive practice for starting a nuclear war.

There has been no great outcry against these ominous Soviet preparations. Neither has there been any outcry against the relentless Soviet buildup of offensive nuclear weapons.

In Europe demonstrators did not protest against the 315 new Russian missiles that can incinerate all European cities in 20 minutes. Instead, they protested against the 572 weapons that NATO *plans* to emplace to defend Western Europe. In America the demonstrators did not protest against the 1400 intercontinental missiles aimed at America, many of which are designed to annihilate U.S. missiles in a first strike. Instead, they demonstrated against *projected* American missiles, bombers and submarines whose deployment would more than anything else ensure that the Soviets never will dare launch the kind of surprise attack for which they practiced last June.

While the demonstrations proceeded in Europe and the United States, seven young European tourists—a Belgian, two Spaniards, two Frenchmen and two Italians—attempted a tiny demonstration in Moscow. On April 19, 1982, in Red Square, they unfurled a banner saying in Russian, "Bread, Life and Disarmament." Instantly, the KGB seized them and carted them to jail before they could pass out a single leaflet in behalf of peace. On August 8, 1982, the Associated Press reported from Moscow: "A cofounder of Moscow's only independent disarmament group is being administered depressant drugs against his will in the psychiatric hospital where he is being held, his wife said today." And at Harvard, students and faculty reserved some of their loudest applause for a spokesman from the KGB, a man from the Lubyanka Center.

Once again, the KGB had succeeded in inverting reality.

Flight Line. A friend of mine taking sky divers up in his plane hit some turbulence and went into a dive. He quickly regained control and said to the passengers, "Close, wasn't it?" Getting no reply, he turned around. There was nobody there.

—Contributed by M. Scott